

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 162493

16

ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SSO-00 ISO-00 /012 R

DRAFTED BY:CTF:KSKOUG

APPROVED BY:CTF:KSKOUG

S/S-O:MISS MATTESON

----- 127745

O 260531Z JUL 74 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T STATE 162493

TOSEC 22

WHITE HOUSE PASS SAN CLEMENTE FOR EAGLEBURGER FOR SECRETARY

FOLLOWING GENEVA 4811 SENT STATE INFO

ANKARA ATHENS LONDON

NICOSIA USUN JUL 26 RPT TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 4811

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS

REF: GENEVA 4809

FROM BUFFUM

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT END OF TWO-HOUR MEETING BETWEEN UK,  
GREEK AND TURK FONMINS, EVENING JULY 25, GENERAL DECLARATION  
PRODUCED REPRESENTING MINIMAL AGREEMENT TO REAFFIRM THEIR  
ENDORSEMENT OF SC RES 353 AND JOINT DETERMINATION TO ACHIEVE  
ITS ENDS (DESPITE EXPLICIT DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION) NO  
FIRM AGREEMENT REACHED ON FURTHER STEPS, BUT FURTHER MEETINGS  
SCHEDULED FOR 10 A.M. TOMORROW. END SUMMARY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 162493

1. MTG WHICH TOOK PLACE AT UN PALAIS PRECEDED BY SEPARATE MEETINGS

OF CALLAGHAN STARTING IN MID-AFTERNOON WITH DEPUTY UNSYG GUYER, TURK FONMIN, AND GREEK FONMIN, IN THAT ORDER, PLUS SEPARATE MRG BETWEEN GUYER AND TURK FONMIN. UNDERSECRETARY WIGGIN BRIEFED US ON THESE MEETINGS AND TONIGHTS CONFERENCE AS FOLLOWS:

2. GUYER STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING UNFICYP BUT EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN WHETHER ITS MANDATE WOULD PERMIT IT TO INTERPOSE ITSELF BETWEEN ONE CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AND A UN MEMBER STATE. CALLAGHAN ARGUED THAT MANDATE TO PREVENT FIGHTING WAS BROAD AND SHOULD COVER THIS SITUATION. GUYER NOTED THAT TURKS HAD PROPOSED INCREASING UNFICYP BY APPROACHING NEW COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH MORE AFFINITY TO TURKEY SUCH AS IRAQ AND PAKISTAN. GUYER SAID HE HAD ARGUED AGAINST THIS POINTING OUT THAT INVOLVING ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES COULD OPEN UP THE PARTICIPATION TO PRESSURE FROM SOVS FOR COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION. GUYER ASKED CALLAGHAN IF UK HAD AERIAL PHOTOS OF POSITIONS AS OF 1400 GMT 22 JULY, NOTING THAT UN EMBARRASSED THAT IT COULD NOT PRECISELY IDENTIFY POSITIONS AS OF THAT MOMENT EVEN THOUGH UNSYG HAD CALLED FOR WITHDRAWAL TO THESE POSITIONS. CALLAGHAN SAID UK DID NOT HAVE SUCH PHOTOS. GUYER SAID HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO BRING TO GENEVA KNOWLEDGEABLE UNFICYP OFFICER WHO COULD HELP APPROXIMATE THESE POSITIONS AS CONFERENCE APPROACHES DEFINITION OF CEASE-FIRE LINES. GUYER EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH GENERAL SEQUENCE PROPOSED BY CALLAGHAN: (1) SEVERAL DAYS OF TRYING TO MAKE CEASE FIRE WORK ON UNDERSTANDING THAT PURPOSE OF THIS EFFORT IS TO PRODUCE WORKABLE CEASE-FIRE NOT TO DEFINE SHAPE OF ANY PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OR PRESENCE; (2) AFTER TWO-WEEK PAUSE, RESUMED SESSION TO LAUNCH EFFORT FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND MORE RATIONAL AND DURABLE MILITARY SETTLEMENT. WIGGIN, IN COMMENTING ON MTG WITH GUYER, NOTED THAT IT IMPORTANT TO GET TROOPS PULLED OUT AND REDUCED IN NUMBER SO AS NOT TO CONTEMPLATE LARGE UNFICYP OF LONG DURATION.

3. WITH TURK FONMIN GUNES, GALLAGHAN PRESENTED FOREGOING CONCEPT OF TWO-STAGE CONFERENCE--IN WHICH SECOND STAGE MIGHT HAVE A NUMBER OF COMPONENTS---AND STRESSED NEED FOR TONIGHT'S MTG TO PRODUCE A DECLARATION THAT "NO INCIDENTS SHOULD OCCUR WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A RESUMPTION OF THE FIRING." GUNES DEALT AT SOME LENGTH WITH ATROCITIES WHICH HE SAID WERE OCCURRING. TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WITH TURKS WAS THEN WORKED OUT WHICH STRESSED "BEST EFFORTS"

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 162493

OF PARTIES CONCERNED FOR "PROMOTING OBSERVANCE OF CEASE-FIRE."

4. WITH GREEK FONMIN MAVROS, WHO BEGAN BY EXCITEDLY ENUMERATING FURTHER TURKISH LANDINGS OF MEN AND EQUIPMENT, CALLAGHAN PROMOTED HIS TWO-STAGE CONCEPT AND NEED FOR QUICK DECLARATION. MAVROS AGREED WITH THIS AND ALSO ACCEPTED IDEA UN REPS COULD BE PRESENT AT CONFERENCE IN VIEW OF GUYER URGING THAT UN REPS BE SEEN IN CONFERENCE. GREEKS AGREED TO LOOK AT SEVERAL

ALTERNATIVE DRAFT DECLARATIONS AND COME UP WITH THEIR OWN IDEAS. MAVROS, HOWEVER, EMPHASIZED THAT HE DID NOT SEE HOW CONFERENCE COULD PROCEED IF THE TURKS KEPT LANDING TROOPS AND CONDUCTING OPERATIONS. HE INDICATED THAT UNLESS THIS STOPPED HE WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE OTHER THAN TO WALK OUT.

5. AT THE TRIPARTITE MEETING, WHICH BEGAN AROUND NINE O'CLOCK, AGREEMENT REACHED IN SPITE INITIAL TURKISH OPPOSITION TO HAVE UN REPS PRESENT. CALLAGHAN'S ARGUMENT THAT THEY WOULD BE NEEDED FOR DISCUSSION

OF CEASE-FIRE DETAILS AND THAT THEY DID NOT INTEND TO INTERJECT COMMENTS UNLESS ASKED PRODUCED TURK ACQUIESCENCE. UN REPS THEN INVITED JOIN MTG.

6 FONMINS AGREED THAT MTGS WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL WITH NO AGREED STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS AND EACH DEL BRIEFING ITS OWN PRESS. GREEKS INDICATED THEY WOULD BRIEF THEIR PRESS FULLY. (WIGGIN COMMENTED THAT REGULAR LEAKS WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPECTED.)

7. IN OUTLINING AGENDA, CALLAGHAN, WHO ACTED INFORMALLY AS DE FACTO CHAIRMAN IN ABSENCE ANY ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP PROCEDURE, STRESSED THAT UN CEASE-FIRE WAS FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. GUNES RESISTED

CENTRAL EMPHASIS ON UN NOTING THAT THE THREE WERE GUARANTORS. HE STRESSED THAT CEASE-FIRE WAS NOT ENOUGH AND THAT CONFERENCE MUST DEAL WITH BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES "AFTER A WEEK". MAVROS ARGUED THAT IT WAS SC RES 353 WHICH CALLED FOR THE CONFERENCE AND EMPHASIZED THE CEASE FIRE ON THE LINES OF 1400 GMT 22 JULY. CALLAGHAN EMPHASIZED THAT THE TEMPORARY MEASURES NOW NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN THE CEASE FIRE AND THE SECURITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ISLAND SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS PERMANENT. GREEKS THEN PASSED UK THEIR DRAFT TEXT OF DECLARATION BUT, INASMUCH AS IT MENTIONED 1400 GMT 22 JULY LINES WHICH CALLAGHAN KNEW TO BE UNACCEPTABLE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 162493

TO TURKS IN ANY DECLARATION, UK DID NOT PRESENT IT IN FULL. GUNES THEN MADE A LENGTHY INTERVENTION ABOUT SC RES 353 WHICH HE SAID SUBJECT TO VARYING INTERPRETATIONS. HE RESERVED TURKEY'S RIGHT TO INTERPRET SC RES 353 AS IT SAW FIT. HE ARGUED THAT DECLARATION SHOULD FOCUS ON PARTICIPANTS ROLES AS GUARANTOR POWERS NOT ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CONFERENCE IN SC RES 353 AS MAVROS HAD PROPOSED. GUNES, HOWEVER, THOUGHT HE COULD ACCEPT A DECLARATION ENDORSING SC RES 353 AND A CEASE-FIRE.

8 AT THIS POINT, WIGGIN SAID HE MADE A TACTICAL ERROR IN SUGGESTING A PARAGRAPH NOTING THAT THE THREE WERE ACTING UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE. MAVROS IMMEDIATELY OPPOSED ANY MENTION OF THE TREATY ON THE GROUNDS THAT ONE PARTY WAS VIOLATING IT BY USING FORCE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE UN CHARTER WHICH CONDITIONS THE TREATY.

GUNES COUNTERED THAT IF THIS GREEK VIEW HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO ANYTHING WHICH DID NOT REFER AT THE OUTSET TO THE TREATY (WHICH HE APPARENTLY FELT MAVROS WAS TRYING TO UNDERCUT). FINALLY, GUNES ACCEPTED AFTER RESISTING FOR AN HOUR ANY REFERENCE SC RES 353, A DECLARATION WHICH MADE AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE.

9. TEXT OF DECLARATION SENT IN REFTEL UNCLASSIFIED ABRAM  
UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ARMISTICE, TROOP DEPLOYMENT, TOSEC 22, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 JUL 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** elyme  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE162493  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** CTF:KSKOUG  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740202-1164  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740714/aaaaalkx.tel  
**Line Count:** 178  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** GENEVA 4809  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** elyme  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <30-Sep-2002 by elyme>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CYPRUS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PINS, MOPS, OCON, CY, GR, TU, UK, UN  
**To:** WHITE HOUSE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005